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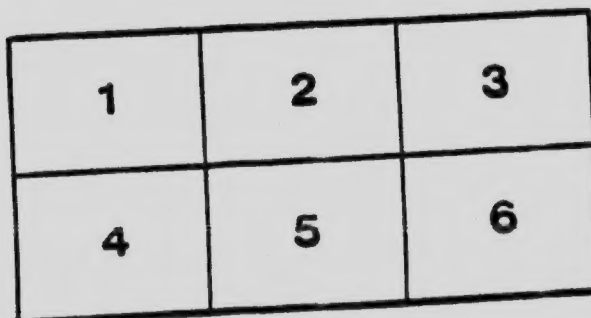
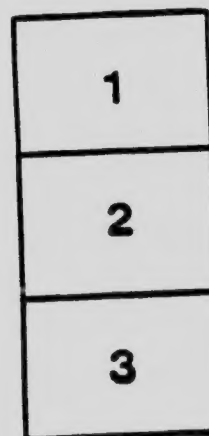
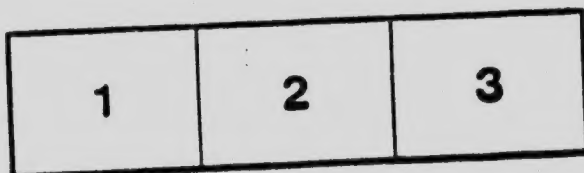
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WHERE WAS ST. PATRICK BORN?



A paper read publicly by D. MACKINTOSH
MACGREGOR in several places.

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A quotation from the last volume of the American Catholic
Cyclopedia, recently issued, is added to the original paper.

PORT HOOD GREETINGS OFFICE,
DECEMBER 1910.

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Facts Acknowledged by All:

1. St. Patrick was carried a slave into Ireland in the sixteenth year of his age ;
2. After six years, he escaped and returned home ;
3. He was subsequently educated and became a priest;
4. He was consecrated Bishop, and came to Ireland, where he remained until his death.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Copies are extant of five distinct records that were made by persons who lived in the fifth century, and were themselves engaged in the work of preaching the gospel to the heathen people of Ireland. In the order of seniority, they are (1) the poem of Secundinus the first of the Irish bishops that "went under the sod;" (2) the letter to Coroticus written by St. Patrick's own hand; (3) a gaelic hymn or poem by St. Fiach, who was received in to the church by the apostle himself and afterwards became one of his suffragan bishops; (4) The Confession, so-called, of St. Patrick composed in his old age; and (5) a Life of St. Patrick, attributed to his nephew, an Irishman by birth, who survived both him and St. Fiach; for he mentions their death. Whatever the precise date, this last mentioned work is of much importance, because of its great antiquity and of the further fact that it is the first biography ever written in Ireland.

The poem of Secundinus is an eulogium of the personal merits and qualities of his Ecclesiastical Chief, and has no reference to the incidents of his childhood. It will not further enter into this paper; but it was incorporated into the Iturgy of the early Irish church; and possibly is still sometimes sung in sacred service on the festival of St. Patrick, and perhaps inserted in some of the proper Breviaries.

St. Fiach's Hymn also was much quoted (a). It is called the "fourth honor due to St. Patrick" by the Book of Armagh. It says his birthplace was Nemthur, a word frequently written at later, though very remote, periods as Empthur. This obviously was an ancient name, afterwards disused; for it was ever a bardic custom to choose antiquated, archaic and even obsolete terms always, when naming a country and not rarely when naming anything else. Euthor probably indicated some prominent feature in the landscape, a hill, a stream, a valley perhaps; and the initial N in such case would be the definite article. Thus a place called Urnaige by some writers is called Nurnaidhe by others. The variation is traceable in modern words derived from the same

(a) Rolls Tripartite p 333 "canticum ejus Scotticum semper canere."

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

original Gaelic source. Emthor or Nemthor is localized by other authorities of very old date, and to them we must refer.

A scholiast of St. Fiach (b) has a further explanation by way of what would today be styled a marginal comment; and it is to the express effect that "Nemthur is a city in North Britain called Alclud." What gives much importance to the scholium is the fact that the hymn and the scholium are found in two distinct copies of the *Liber Hymnorum*, the copies we have dating back to about the year 930, and each containing hymns not contained in the other, thus indicating with much probability that each was copied from a different exemplar. Whether this were so or not is in one sense irrelevant; for the authority of the hymn and of the scholium is derived from the highly significant fact that the early Irish christians believed in St. Patrick's Scottish birth place since they made much of St. Fiach's bardic effusion, by so often singing it in his honor.

BOOK OF CARMARTHEN.

The Black Book of Carmarthen is of great antiquity; and its authority has not, so far as I know, been questioned by any of the writers who have written on cognate subjects since its discovery and publication in the last century. It does not treat of St. Patrick's birth place at all, but it informs us, in the words of Taliesyn, that "King Rhyderic Hael, (Roderick the Liberal) sailed from Waies to Nemthur to recover the kingdom of Strathclyde (from which he had been expelled,) and that there he fought a successful battle on the banks of the Clyde, where there was a shrine dedicated to St. Patrick." This allusion to the location of Nemthur and to the existence of a memorial church is not direct but incidental, and therefore of indisputable force. Even Falstaff whose word would carry little weight in a direct relation, such as his account of the exploit on Gad's Hill, is excellent authority for the fact that such a place as Coventry existed

(b) Memoir of St. Fiach by Mactheni. Book of Armagh. Also St. Isidor's M. S. of the tenth century.

"i cathir seinn feil embretnaib tuais-cirt i Ailcluade."

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

in Henry the fourth's time (c), and was in the direct path from London to the scene of Hotspua's rebellion. It is certain that Taliesyn made very clear to his readers the exact spot where King Roderick overcame his rebellious subjects, by this mention that the place was that definite locality on the banks of Clyde where the church dedicated to St Patrick had been erected. Even if partiality for a favorite King should color his description of the result of the battle, it would not impair topographical accuracy in noting the location of the contest.

Was there any other Clyde generally known to the ancients than the river in Scotland? Or, for that matter, to the moderns either before British immigrants gave the appellation to insignificant streams in America, Africa and Australasia? A decided negative answer, sustained by unexceptional proof, can be given to the query.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

The universal geography of Ptolemy dates from the year A. D., 120, two centuries and a half before St. Patrick's birth; its maps were added about forty years after its first publication, and thence forward the book and maps were standard works everywhere in use down till the beginning of the fifteenth century; and in some places to a still later period. The earliest editions have a sufficiently accurate delineation of England and Southern Scotland.—the same delineation remained unchanged in subsequent exemplars—the Clyde, the Tay, the Forth, and the Orkney Islands are correctly located; and what is here of significance is, that these four places alone, of all the rivers and islands on the map, retain unto this day the same names they had in the first maps that ever were made of them, and in every copy since. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the place the ancients understood by the Clyde; for there is no indication of any kind whatever in the ancient maps and geography, that there was ever a Clyde anywhere other than the stream in North Britain. Why no substantial change was made by the efflux of time in the name of the Orkneys is not very clear; but in

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

the case of the Clyde, the Forth and the Tay, the continuous presence of the great bulk of Roman soldiers in that part of the country in guard of the Northern extremities of the Empire in Britain; and their incessant communications with the seat of power on the Tiber, made change of nomenclature practically impossible during the Roman subjugation for over three centuries.

AGRICOLA'S PERMANENT CONQUEST.

It was in the years 73, 74 and 75 (d) that Lowland Scotland which includes on the coast both banks of the Clyde and the Leven, was finally subjugated by Agricola, who further, as we know from the reliable historical works of his son-in-law Tacitus, sailed around Scotland to the northward of the Tay, and rejoined on the Clyde the military detachments which he had previously sent overland across the country. Agricola was the first man that proved by this voyage Britain to be an island distinct from Ireland; for theretofore Ireland had been seen by navigators to the northward and westward; but no one had ascertained whether it extended far enough in the unseen North East to make connection with the neighboring land. Ireland and the far North of Scotland are very imperfectly delineated on Ptolemy's map; simply because the Roman's had not subjugated them, and they therefore were not accessible; but Lowland Scotland, England and Wales are quite accurately located, for the very reason that these parts were in perfect possession of the conquerors—in absolutely peaceful possession besides, as far as places in the vicinity of the great garrisons were concerned.

It is not known that a raid was ever made in those days from the Scottish highlands into Dumbarton or any nearby adjoining territory. It could not be made right through the camp of the Roman soldiers; and the first hostile invasion we read of, came by sea from Ireland to a point several miles

(d) Tacitus. Agricola passim. A few days ago, I came across an excellent—the best I know—translation of the author's Annals and Agricola. It is about as pleasing to read as the original. It is issued by Dent and Co, London, as a part of their "Every man's Library."

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

south of the fort, and not by land from Caledonia. The Clyde remained in uninterrupted occupation of the Romans from the time of Agricola until the final withdrawal of their troops from Britain in 410. The part of the island not occupied by the Romans, that part alone—and not even the whole of it—much less all Scotland—was called Alba or Caledonia, or the land of the Picts. The term Alba was not applied to the Lowlands by the early or later Latin writers either.

REGAL DUMBARTON.

It is not irrelevant here, as will be evident further on, to note that Dumbarton was the seat of royalty for centuries—and is even to-day a city of considerable importance. A hundred and fifty years ago it was called Dunbarton and at an earlier period Dunbritton. Its name of Ailcluade Ail cloate, Ail cluith (the rock of Clyde) is a very remote designation, and Nemthor is the most ancient of all, or at any rate, the most ancient that has been transmitted to modern times. Bede (e) says very appositely that the Clyde is “a very large gulf of the sea which in former times divided the Picts from the Britons. This gulf runs from the West far inland, where, to this day stands the strong city of the Britons called Alcluith”. In another place (f) he speaks of the “City Alcluith which in the language of the Picts signifies the Rock of Clyde, for it is situated close by the river of that name;” and adds what is certainly conclusive as to the name and location, that the “famous wall which separated the Picts from the Britons commenced at the East at Pen-nelton, and stretched across to the Clyde on the West near the City of Alcluith.” Adamnan (g) incidentally speaks of Dumbarton as the “Rock of Clyde,” and probably is the first Irish author who gives this name, without addition or explanation as if it were a proper noun. It would not be contrary to Roman polity, as we know from the example of Micipsa

(e) Bede. Hist. Eccl. I. I. He wrote the quoted words in 731.

(f) Ibidem c x II “Juxta urbem Alcluith.”

(g) Adamnan—“Vita S. Columkill I. 8 “Petra Cloithe.”

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

and Jugurtha in another Roman dependency, if there were a British King always in Dumbarton even after its subjugation by Agricola; and indeed Dr Healy (h) assumes this as practically certain, and one of the early Lives of St. Patrick (i) expressly asserts that the saint in youth was employed in a royal palace; but an hypothesis of the kind is not necessary; since it is otherwise certain that the Kingdom of Strathclyde existed immediately after the withdrawal of the Romans whether it had previously existed or not. Bede and Adamnan are in evidence that it was in existence in 410 and subsequently as Dr. Healy remarks. Of its Kings, Coroticus and Roderick, I shall have occasion to speak later on. Hovsden (j) however tells us that Dumbarton, the chief city of the Kingdom of the Britains in the year 756, submitted to the united forces of Egbert, King of Northumbria, and Unust, King of the Picts. He calls the inhabitants "Britons"—a name which at that time and for a considerable time before and afterwards, was applicable to the population of Strathclyde and to that of no other part of the island; for the Angles had expelled the original inhabitants, and given their own name to what is now England; the Picts dwelt in the Highlands of Scotland; the Scots in the Islands; and the Cymri or Cambrians in Wales. The city was not destroyed, nor the people slaughtered after the surrender; for it happened after the whole Island had become Christian. But a century and a half later, the pagan Danes seized, captured, and burned the fort of Alcluith and Dumbarton. The last king of Dumbarton subsequently went to Rome where he died in the earlier years of the tenth century, having spent his declining days in monastic austerity. The extinction of so renowned a Christian fortress was not allowed to pass without

(h) Archbishop Healy. Life and writings of St. Patrick.

(i) Tripartite "One time the king of Britain's steward went to command Patrick and his nurse to go and clean the hearth of the royal house in Ailcluade."

(j) Hovsden annals ad an. 756 "Duxerunt exercitum ad urbem Al Cluith, ibique Britones in deditionem receperunt prima die Augusti."

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notice by the authors of the time. In Brut y Twysogion (k) is read, "eight hundred and seventy was the year of Christ, and Caer Alclud was demolished by the pagans." The Annales Cambriae (l) tell the same fact in words of identical meaning.

In the annals of Ulster under the same year the "burning of Ail Cluade is recorded; and the siege of Ail Clyde is mentioned in the Ogygia (m). The highly critical and very learned Skene (n) says that the fortress is often mentioned in the four ancient books of Wales; and Camden (o) —no better authority anywhere—says: "formerly it was Alclud, but afterwards began to be called Dunbritton, or the fort of the Britons who for a long time held it against the Scots." It is needless to cumulate further testimony. No event in any history is more clearly established than the facts that Dumbarton, Alclud, and Nemthor refer to the same place, and that the inhabitants, except such as were foreign Roman Soldiers, were called Britons; and were in reality for some centuries the only large contingent in the Island of that ancient people. Dunbritton means a fort of the Britons; and when it became their only fort, the name became synonymous with Ailclyde.

BONAVAN TABERNIA.

I have referred to the life of St. Patrick (p) ascribed to his nephew. This very ancient work says "he was born in

(k) Ithel, Brut of Twysogion, ed 1860, p 15.

(l) Arx Ailclud a gentibus facta est.

(o) Camden, p 666, "olim Ailclud, sed postea a Britannis qui eam longo tempore contra Scotos tenuerunt, Dunbritton, id est, Britonorum oppidum dici coepit."

(p) Colgan Trias p 11 "In Nemthor... Tabernia." The definition of the last word is "omne aedificium ad habitandum utile" Facioletti.

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the town of Nemthor in the plain of Tabernia." This word is not new; St. Patrick in his confession speaks of "Bonaven Tabernia" as the place where his father had a farm or villa. Etymologically considered Bonaven is simply the mouth of a river, and Tabernia, a field or plain in which are many tents, huts, or dwellings of any kind. Wherever there is a river, there is a Bonaven; for every river has a mouth; and wherever there was a stationary military encampment, there was a Tabernia; for soldiers had some sort of tent or edifice to protect themselves from the ardor of the summer sun, as well as the inclemency of winter weather. But the words must have crystallized into proper names, before St. Patrick wrote his confession, or his biographer the sketch of the Apostle's life; otherwise they would have given no definite, and therefore, no practical information. Thus Antigonish means a river abounding in fish, and would years ago apply to many well known streams in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia; and a person stating at that time that an event occurred at Antigonish would leave the locality doubtful; but now, the term has become the proper name of a neighboring county and its shiretown, and the use of the word is definite and precise. We must assume that St. Patrick and his biographer wished to be precise; therefore, they used a proper name; but this name is not found on any ancient map, so far as I have been able to investigate. It was too small a place, the mere suburb of a city. Roman writers do not use it; we know however that it was at or near Nemthor; and we have seen that Nemthor was on the Clyde. Taliesyn, not to mention others until later on, leaves no room to doubt in the matter. St. Patrick does not state that he was born at Nemthor;—only that his father had a farm (villulam) there—but in another part of the confession, which I will cite when I come to corroborative evidence, he leads us to infer that he was of Strathclydian extraction.

MONASTIC RECORDS.

The Fourth Life of St. Patrick published by Colgan was found by him in a monastery of Paunonia, and attributed to St. Aileran surnamed the Wise. This opinion of the authorship may or may not be incorrect; but either alternative does not invalidate the great authority of the work itself. It is

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very ancient, persumably written in Ireland, and certainly voicing in the matter of the Saints birthplace the opinion of Irish monks who had been contemporary with St. Patrick; for the author expressly states that he had consulted older writings, many of which he cites verbatim and more than this, he appeals to "living men of veracious minds." His words (q) are as expressive and unambiguous as significant: "Tabernia or the field of tents was in the region of Strathclyde, in which country St. Patrick was conceived and born."

A manuscript life (r) found in a monastery at Biburg says: "St. Patrick was born in Nemthor, Tabernia; that he was first called Suchet; that he was of the race of the Britons, and that his country and place of birth were not far from the sea"

The monstery here mentioned like that I last referred to was founded by Irish monks. The exact year of its foundation can not be accurately ascertained from any data that still exist. But the fact is patent that Irish missionaries founded no monasteries on the Continent after the Danes by their ravages had crippled the resources of the early church, and this alone is proof enough of sufficiently assured antiquity. These old manuscripts were not by any means forgotten records, like the documents which are occasionally unearthed in the old libraries of Europe today. They were indeed before the art of printing was invented; but they were read in the daily life of the monks, and perused besides by hundreds of learned men.

OLD M. S. S.

Probus (s) who was an Irishman, though his name seems that of a foreigner says that "St. Patrick's father and mother were from the village Bannave in the Tabernian district." He evinces his nationality when he speaks of Vartry as a "celebrated port of ours." The Irish sea he calls "our sea;" and he asserts that "St. Patrick filled our land with the faith

(q) In regionem Strathclyde in qua natus et conceptus est Patricius."

(r) Colgan. jam cit.

(s) "Apud nos clarissimum."

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of Christ." His testimony I may submit without comment.

Nothing can be clearer than the Tripartite (t) "In Nemthor the man St. Patrick was born. He was by origin of the Britons of Alcluaide."

Another ancient authority, (u) older certainly than the Tripartite, is the "Leabhar Breach," and its words are almost similar in form and identical in significance: "The holy father (St. Patrick) was of the Britons of Alcluaide....At Nemthor he was born....He was reared at Nemthor."

The book of Lismore (v) a valued record of the early Irish church has this phrase: St. Patrick's father was of the Britons of Alcluide....he was born at Nemthor."

O'Curry's Lectures (w) have these words in reference to St. Patrick: "Nemthor was his native town." This is on the authority of the Four Masters.

A very ancient M. S. (x) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, has the following: "St. Patrick's father was of the Britons....Ail Cluade was his native place."

Jocelyn, (y) a Welshman by birth, and certainly conversant with such important events as were connected with the church of his country, and willing no doubt to claim St. Patrick as a fellow citizen if he truthfully could, writes: "There was a certain man, Calpurnius by name, dwelling in the village called Tibernia, situated in the campus Tabernaculorum....near the town Emthor....This place is famous,

(t) Colgan adds an interpretation of the name Nemthor, which means, according to him, a "lofty or heavenly tower." This may be the true etymological meaning, but it has no bearing on the question of the birthplace.

(u) Whitney Stokes. Three middle Irish homilies 1877 pp 3 et seq.

(v) M. S. S., R. I. A. fol 1 Col 6.

(w) Lectures on the Four Masters 2nd series, lect 8 p 166.

(x) M. S. H 3. 18.

(y) Vita Sexta. Apud Colgan. "Campus Tabernaculorum is a mere verbal change for Campus Taberniae." "Est autem locus celebris in valle Clud situs, lingua gentis illius Dumbreaton, id est mons Brittonorum etc." Cf Moran, Dublin Review 1880 p 300.

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situate in the valley of the Clyde, and called in the language of that country Dumbarton, that is the rock of the Britons."

Of documents which bear on the subject of this Lecture, the very latest in discovery (z) is perhaps the most venerable in age. It is possible, but scarcely probable, that anything more will be added to the stock now in hand. Professor Currie discovered the following statement in an old M. S. in Trinity College, Dublin: "In a village the name of which is Urnaigh, in Britain, near the City of Emthor, Patrick was born." Urnaigh, in the language of the ancient Britons, means prayer; and from the record, one infers that near the City of Emthor was a place signally devoted to prayer—a peculiar shrine, a special church, above all a shrine or church to which pilgrimages were made. Now, in the old British Church in England, no shrines of the kind were established until after the coming of St. Dunstan, and then of course the Saxon language was everywhere in use, and the term Urnaigh would not apply. The Churches of Wales are out of the question; because there is no record of them that would verify the situation, and because Emthor was not in Wales, but at a place that King Roderick had to sail from Wales to arrive at, as we have already seen in the Black Book Lowland Scotland thus remains, and there indeed was the only prominent seat of the Britons at the time. Dumbarton was pre-eminently a British fort, Kilpatrick a place of prayer, because thereat was the memorial church of the greatest missionary since the days of the Apostles.

PROPER ABERDEEN BREVARY.

Scottish Records, except such as express the title deeds and conveyances of land of some families that adhered to the English interest, were carried away from monasteries and public buildings by order of Edward I King of England, and became subsequently lost almost in their entirety. We do not know what they contained about St Patrick. The breviaries of the priests were not interfered with, and of them, exemplars remain till this day. The proper Breviary of

(z) Lectures 2nd., Series. Lect. VIII p 160 Cf Moran p 209.

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Aberdeen gives full and express mention of his birth at Dumbarton; but as there will be occasion to take special notice of it later on, I shall then give a fuller explanation. I merely note the testimony at present; its efficacy will be explained hereafter.

MACTHENI AND MAELBREGHT.

I have now quoted all—two excepted—the early writers that expressly mention the birthplace and lineage of the Irish Apostle; and they harmonize in Dumbarton, either under that name or one more ancient. The terms Nemthor, Alclud, Bonaver Tabernia, Dumbarton, are as who should say Seaside, Port Hood, Inverness, Cape Breton, Canada, North America. Several names there be, but only one locality, yet more precisely defined in our day, as I shall show later on, by the word Kilpatrick. The two authors not yet quoted are Mactheni, a graphic annalist who composes in fairly good Latin, and Marianus Scotus, or to give him his native name, Maelbreght, one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of early Irish writers. These two make a merely passing allusion to the birth-place, stating solely that he was born in Britain. The particular spot is not mentioned by them, evidently because everybody knew it already. How was the word "Britain" understood in their day? I met a Mexican a few months ago in the street at Reserve Mines. If I were, in recounting the circumstance to say, that I met an American there, would you not at once infer that the person in question hailed from the United States?—and this simply because the predominating number of people in North America are in the United States today? So too in the time of Mactheni and Maelbreght or Marianus Scotus the preponderating number of Britons was in the erstwhile Kingdom of Strathclyde, ie, in the Lowlands of Scotland. There were exclusively Scots and Picts in the islands and Highlands, exclusively Cambrians in Wales, and almost exclusively Saxons in England. These four peoples had distinctive names; the Scottish Lowlanders had only one. They were Britons. True it is that in one sense all of them were Britons, just as Esquimaux, Central Americans, Mexicans, Yankees and Canadians are in this twentieth century Americans

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every one by birth, but not in popular enunciation; and Mactheni and Maelbreght writing without adding any distinction, must be construed as speaking in the obvious popular sense. If St. Patrick were a Cambrian or Gaul they would have said so. In every case, no argument whatever can be drawn from their words that St. Patrick was born elsewhere than in Lowland Scotland; for Lowland Scotland then, now, and always, was a part of Britain. Not alone Marianus and Mactheni, but also every author without exception down to the seventeenth century, when the first discordant note is heard in the voice of O'Sullivan Beare, (b) is in perfect harmony with the authorities I have quoted. There is not even one dissident or protesting, but there are many evidences of corroborative force and efficacy.

I close the first part of this lecture with one reflection. The first person to suggest another than Scottish birth was O'Sullivan Beare in Madrid and his theory died still born. It was never heard of in Ireland, or anywhere else, except in the incredulous conversation of learned men, who occasionally mentioned it as something to be summarily rejected, or to be considered as merely the phantasm of a cultivated mind which threw out a fanciful idea for the amusement of thinkers of serious cast. It was not until the twenty first year of the nineteenth century, that the Rev. Dr. Lanigan, (a) in a work of much research in many matters and not a little critical power in some others, announced that a French birth place for St. Patrick could be supported by arguments, some of which were at first sight plausible enough. His statement was a surprise to the readers of hagiography everywhere; it was contradictory to a universal tradition, and could be immediately accepted by such persons only as did not wait to consider either the recorded evidence, or the real strength and meaning of what a universal tradition was in the actual circumstances. How could such a tradition, if false, have arisen in the beginning? How could such a place as Lowland Scotland be invented as a birth-place, with any, even the least, prospect of supplanting the truth? Would any

(b) Patrician Decas, Madrid 1629.

(a) Eccl. Hist. vol. 1 p 93.

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sane person go there for the spot, and find believers afterwards that he found it? How could the old knowledge, that St. Patrick was born elsewhere, be eradicated from every mind, and leave no trace whatever of the change; for St. Patrick's birth place was widely known in Ireland first, and the whole Christian world afterwards? It is unreasonable to suppose otherwise; for no missionary ever came nearer than he to the popular heart, so that everything connected with him was naturally of engrossing interest. His sisters who were captured with him, afterwards married in Ireland and had families there. One of the nephews wrote his life. Yet no one in Ireland heard of anything but a Scottish birth-place for fourteen centuries.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC CYCLOPEDIA.

There is the peculiar argument which indicates the historical mind, in the remark of the American Catholic Encyclopedia (b) that, "In reality, there seems no solid reason for rejecting the traditional account, viz., that St. Patrick was born at Dumbarton in Scotland about the year 372; that he was captured and brought to Ireland etc." There certainly is no reason, nor can there ever be any reason, until there first shall have been discovered a reason why or how this tradition if false, could have come into universal acceptance. Adversaries of the Scottish nativity really work against their own theories when they attempt to show that Scotland was an impossible birth place; for, if so, nobody would know it better than the people who lived nearest in time to the Saint; and above all no one would then dream of inventing an impossible locality. I am not sure that the principle which underlies this system of reasoning is fully developed in all the recent writers on the subject; but it is implied in the quotation from the Encyclopedia. Meanwhile the authority of that great Catholic work, manifested by the given quotation, may be taken as affording the last, and, in common opinion no doubt, the weightiest, word on the subject ever uttered on this side of the Atlantic.

(b) Catholic American Review. art. Ireland. vol VIII.

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CORROBORATIVE TESTIMONY.

From time immemorial there has been in Kilpatrick, Dunbarton, Scotland, a church dedicated to St. Patrick, and purporting to have been erected on the spot where he was born. Nowhere else was there ever any such church, or any other religious memorial mark of any kind indicating the natal place of the Saint. I make this negation here; because a local speaker has expressed doubts rather than denial that such a church existed in the early centuries in Scotland, and inferred thence that St. Patrick was not a Scotchman by birth. The consideration was overlooked that this reasoning would, if applied to theories of a birth place in France or Wales, be absolutely destructive; for it was never contended by anyone that there was at any time a commemorative church of the kind in question in either one or the other. The only true inference is, that the positive evidence I have already adduced, will not be weakened one jot; even if there be no corroborative testimony, but will be illustrated, and in a certain sense substantially strengthened, if there be. Taliessin (c) describing an event that happened less than a hundred years after St. Patrick's death, precisely as long as the present day is later than the death of Bishop Burke, tells us there was then a church on the banks of the Clyde dedicated to the Irish Apostle.

The *vita quarta* (d) written certainly before A. D. 774, and attributed to St. Aileran the Wise, has this reference to the banks of the Clyde: "The inhabitants of the place erected a church over the fountain in which St. Patrick was baptized."

This indicates that St. Patrick, when an infant, was baptized by immersion, a custom common enough in those days, but since largely disused in the Western Church, though still retained in Milan Cathedral and many parts of the East that are in communion with the Roman Pontiff.

Jocelyn (e) at a somewhat later period speaks of the same

(c) Sup. cit.

(d) Colgan p. 35.

(e) Colgan p. 35. "Supra quem posterorum diligentia Edificavit oratorium."

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fountain and says that the memorial church was erected by the people after St. Patrick had passed away. Any Christian people in the world have done the same, if St. Patrick had been born among them; but none actually built a memorial church of the kind, except the people of the Clyde.

PILGRIMAGES TO KILPATRICK.

The words of Taliessyn, of St. Aileran, and of Jocelyn are illustrated by the Ogygia (f) which in authority is equal to a transcript from the registry of deeds in this county. What was originally called a shrine is now called the church of St. Patrick; and we are further told that "of the places in various parts of Scotland, including six parishes in the diocese of Glaagow, which derived their appellation from the Apostle of Ireland, the most ancient and distinguished certainly was Kilpatrick." There is distinct evidence besides, that before the year 1100, pilgrimages were made to it; for on the same undoubted authority (g) we are informed that Alwin Earl of Lennox "confirmed a grant to Kilpatrick Church of all the lands of Edinbernen and Baccan and others which had been previously granted by his predecessors, and he added thereto the lands of Catecounen." (e) The tenure on which these lands were held is very clearly shown in words which we take from the same source, (h) that the four persons, in whom the lands were invested, were bound in consequence "to receive and entertain the pilgrims coming to the church of St. Patrick." The present church dates only from 1783; but it was built on the foundation of a preceding one; and the latter, on that of one still earlier so that the three stone churches connect the present day very easily with the beginning of the sixth century or eight years after St. Patrick's death; for it is presumable that this length of time or a greater must have elapsed before his countrymen erected the

(f) Ogygia Visitationes Parochiales I 20, 501; II 229 apud Moran p 313.

(g) Ibidem. Cf. Moran.

(e) Dumbarton was the most popular place in the earldom.

(h) Ibidem.

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sacred memorial. A stone church built in ancient substantial mould lasts seven hundred years—often much longer.

GILDAS AND NENNIUS.

There is in Jocelyn an account (i) of the early life of Conchessa, the mother of St. Patrick, which may be historically true, though I do not now recall that it is found in any other of the old writings. "She was," he says, a maiden of striking beauty and elegant manners, who with her elder sister, was carried off a captive to the northern extremities of Britain, and there sold as a slave to the father of Calpurnius. The youth fascinated by her beauty, and admiring her devoted services and virtuous life took the slave girl to be his wedded wife." The argument in our case from this romantic narrative is a matter aside of the veracity of the historical statement; for it is based on the inference that Jocelyn and his readers believed in the Scottish birth, otherwise Calpurnius and his wife would not be located in the northern extremities of Britain. Jocelyn is thus an unexceptionable witness of a universal tradition.

Illustrative, if not corroborative, of the same tradition is the fact that Gildas (j) and Nennius, (k) the oldest British historians we have, record the incident that an inroad was made from Ireland into Strathclyde at a period which coincides with the sixteenth year of St. Patrick's age, and some

(i) Jocelyn sup. cit.

(j) Gildas died about 580. The written work attributed to him is entitled *De Calamitate, excidio, et conquestu Britanniae*.

(k) Nennius born about two centuries later, begins his *Historia Britanniae* with an account of the fabulous Brutus of Troy and ends it with A. D., 655. I have, years ago, but not lately, seen and even consulted old M. S. S. of these writers, but the reference I here give, I take from modern commentators, of whom there are dozens. Their versions in the particular instance are accurate. I am not aware that any full translation of either work can be found in this Province or I would have tried to consult it in the absence of the original. Cf Healy Life and writings of St. Patrick.

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thousands of captives carried away. This is in actual harmony with a Scottish birthplace; and though it is quite true that many inroads into other parts of Britain and even the Continent were made of which history retains no record; and thus that it is possible that invasions by Irish corsairs could have been made at the same time of French or Welsh territory and so harmonized with a corresponding birthplace; yet it is also quite true that there is a very great difference between actual and merely possible harmony of the kind. Again, the number of captives taken, which agrees with St. Patrick's own account in his confession, is so large that it is difficult to assume that a similar raid into other territory would pass altogether without notice by annalists. The main support of any historical statement, however, must be found in direct, rather than corroborative evidence, although it is not out of place to call the latter into review.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION.

The next argument I adduce is based on an express declaration made in writing by St. Patrick himself. (1) It is found in his epistle to Coroticus, now generally acknowledged to be his genuine work, though at one time doubts were entertained on the point. Its antiquity as dating from near the time of St. Patrick's labors in Ireland was never at any time in question. It is the belief, not the personality, of the author, that voices contemporary opinion; and contemporary opinion in such a matter could not be false. Coroticus, sometimes called Cardic and sometimes Corotic, as the name was more or less euphoniously Latinized, was a predatory chieftain, called king in these times, who headed an incursion into Ireland, and carried away to be sold as slaves, a number of young Irish Christians on the very day they were confirmed and had communicated at the Holy Table.

The marauders were in part apostate Picts and Scots—the latter an Irish sept which had settled in the Scottish Islands a century or two previously—and in part professing

(1) *Epistola ad Coroticum*. Sec. 14 "Non dico civibus meis, civibus Romanorum, sed civibus demoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum."

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christians from the main coast of Britain. It was to the latter alone that the minatory letter was addressed, to be perused by them and read to their leader in the indefensible enterprise. St. Patrick implies that they are "his fellow citizens" but on account of their crimes he says he will not call them such; and insomuch indicates that he and they were natives of the same country. If Coroticus was king of Strathclyde, it would in this case very probably follow, that St. Patrick was a native of Strathclyde; but not certainly, for the term "fellow citizens" might have a political as well as topographical meaning; and under the prevailing Roman polity, a stranger might come from afar and be at the age of 16 admitted into all the privileges of a free born Roman Citizen such as Patrick professes himself to be. (m) He regrets that his fellow citizens disregard him, ignore him is the word he uses. (n) Hence I do not quote this epistle as direct, but as corroborative testimony; for it is absolutely possible, though not mentioned by any writer, that St. Patrick might not be a native of the place in which he was captured. If we had not the direct testimony, there would be room for doubt as there would be of the effect of all merely corroborative evidence.

KING COROTICUS.

The exact date of the Corotican outrage is not given anywhere; but as St. Patrick began and ended his missionary labors in the fifth century—dying in 492—the raid would have occurred after 450; for there were many christians already in the land.

Now Coroticus (o) was in temporary alliance with the Picts and Scots, and it is for this as well as the enslaving of christian converts that the saint upbraids him; and there were at the time Saxon, Welsh; and British kings in the island of Britain. The Saxons never made an alliance with the Highlands of Scotland until centuries later when Highlands and Lowlands formed one Kingdom; the king or kings,

(m) *Confessio c x l* "Ingenuus fui secundum carnem"

(n) *Ibidem sec 10* "Etsi mei non cognoscunt."

(o) *Ibidem.*

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whether one or more is uncertain, in Wales were precluded by distance,—the whole North of England and Lowlands of Scotland intervening;—and besides, they were fully occupied at home defending their own domain from the heathen and more than half savage hordes of Saxons who had recently appeared on the frontiers and had already established two kingdoms in the vicinity. There remains only the king of Strathclyde who then made the first known treaty of peace with his highland neighbors. They at a later date joined hands in originating the kingdom of Scotland which ultimately was merged into one power with England and Wales, by giving a ruler to the newly formed confederacy in the person of the very learned but very stupid son of the brilliant and accomplished lady who is known to history as Mary, Queen of Scots. Coroticus, therefore, was a Strathclydian chieftain, and his followers were fellow countrymen of the Apostle.

The silence of authors regarding the locality of Coroticus' kingdom is supplied by the circumstances of the time, which rendered it in the highest degree improbable, practically impossible indeed, that an alliance with the Picts and Scots could be made by any other than the nearest neighbor, and the nearest neighbor was the king and people of Strathclyde, whose capital and strongest fortress—one of the strongest in the world—was Dumbarton at the junction of the Clyde and Leven.

AUTHORITIES.

The corroboration derived from authority seems at first sight to be entirely extrinsic to the matter that may be subject of investigation. We believe an objective contingent fact, because some person we regard as veracious who has made use of commensurate opportunities to acquire accurate knowledge, so informs us either by speech or written composition. The subjects are comparatively few which we know from our own observation. We believe with absolute certainty a great deal about various affairs in the world; and yet very many of us have seen scarcely more than an extremely limited portion of its territories. Of the daily life and doings even in the neighborhood where we live, where our knowledge is at its best, we know more from outside conversation than from what

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we ourselves have observed. In matters of history we depend entirely on others, and in ultimate annalysis on such others alone as were contemporaries of the fact narrated. These by word or deed communicated the knowledge to others, and others to us. Unless again we can trace our historical knowledge either by inference or expression to contemporaries, our knowledge is not history at all, but mere invention. The channels moreover of communication with the past must be without blemish, or the freight that is conveyed through them is tarnished. All of us cannot judge of these channels, therefore we rely on those who, we believe, can do so with discriminating accuracy. Now, I can tell you, and tell you truthfully, that all the great historians, hagiographers, and antiquarians who have made the matter subject of inquiry are—one only excepted whose divergence can be satisfactorily explained—unanimously of opinion that St. Patrick was born in Scotland. Even of the men of minor note—but yet some note—so few dissent, that one can count them on one's fingers. Of inferior pamphleteers, lecturers, newspaper scribblers, Patrick's day panegyrists etc., whose utterances as a rule are entitled to little or no weight whatever, the majority of course blindly, if you choose, follows the great leaders; but an insignificant minority dwindling almost into nothingness these later years, still emits a feeble scattered shriek in ineffectual protest that does not circulate far enough away to reach a sympathetic ear within the circumference of its particular influence.

What authorities should one consult on such a question as the birthplace of a saint? First, but not of necessity, the writers of civil or of ecclesiastical history. The matter does not usually lie within their purview; but sometimes they give it a passing notice; for their aim is solely to give a knowledge of public facts, and of such private facts as exert an influence on public life. In this sense the nativity of the first Napoleon may be of relevance, because the Corsican character is by some persons supposed to have moulded all his political diplomacy, and affected even his military enterprises. The birth of St. Ignatius of Loyola of noble lineage in a castellated fortress in Spain, may in a similar manner be of recognized importance to the compilers of church history; because the chivalry in conduct and bravery in exploit,

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proverbial of his Spanish lineage, may to a certain extent account for the zeal and enthusiasm, in another direction, of the order of Jesuits which he founded. But St. Patrick was the son of a Roman Decurio; and hundreds of Roman Decuriones were to be found at the time everywhere in Europe and Asia Minor. The circumstances attendant on his birth, therefore, were so entirely commonplace that they could neither foreshadow his career nor influence his future life. The question of his birth, for this reason, does not belong to Church History properly so called, nor are church historians equipped peculiarly for its discussion. Encyclopedists on the contrary intend to give every sort of subject proportionate yet equal attention. They are, therefore, the next to be consulted. Of all encyclopedias again, the latest is *ceteris paribus* the best, for its compilers have the benefit of the labors of their predecessors; and of all the late encyclopedias, the American Catholic Encyclopedia is the very latest—it is now issuing through the press—and being Catholic should on a subject ever so remotely connected with catholicity, have the most accurate information. I have already quoted its words, and need not quote them again.

Encyclopedists however must yield to hagiographers; for these have for their only object the personal as well as public incidents in a saint's life. They tell all about him from the cradle to the grave; and nothing else is interposed to distract their attention. Every hagiographer of repute from Fiach down to Mactheni, from Mactheni down to Colgan, from Colgan down to Alban Butler, and from Alban Butler (p) down to Cardinal Moran, (q) assigns the nativity of St. Patrick to Britain, Northern Britain, the Clyde, or specifically to Dumbarton. The amazing mass of instructive publications that pass by the name of Bollandists is in full

(p) Alban Butler. *Lives of the Saints*, March 17th, Colgan sup. cit.

(q) Moran. *Life of Plunket*. This thoroughly reliable book is alone evidence enough to place its author high among hagiographers; just as his Monograph on St. Patrick's birthplace gives him rank as the very best living authority on the question.

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accord.

Higher even than hagiographers stands the antiquarian in our case, when it happens that he devotes his time to it. He has only one incident to investigate, one only question to answer:—namely, where was St. Patrick born? The hagiographer details a whole life; the cyclopedist has everything knowable to attend to. Pluribus intentus minor ad singula sensua. (r) Cardinal Moran, the greatest of living antiquarians in Irish matters, has devoted a whole article in the Dublin Review solely to the birthplace, and in his answer to the question, we find these words: "The Breviary of Aberdeen gives the seal of authority to the venerable tradition of the Scottish Church which, from time immemorial, has marked out Kilpatrick as the hallowed spot in which St. Patrick was born." He has no doubts and leaves no room for intelligent readers to doubt. The Cardinal is himself an Irishman in fullest sympathy with the political aspirations of his countrymen. At the same time, his repute as a scholar places him, bar none, in the first range; and a recent periodical (s) of high standing says that next to the Holy Father, he is the most venerated member of the Hierarchical Society; and assurdly no other society in the world of equal number contains as many men eminent for virtue and ability.

UNIVERSAL TRADITION

There are assertions in St. Patrick's confession (t) which are corroborative here, at least so far, as indicating that his birth was in Great Britain. Thus he says that though while preaching the gospel in Ireland, he often was desirous to visit his native country and his relations, and not only that

(r) Moran. Dublin Review, April 1880.

(s) Ave Maria Oct. 29, 1910. "In the whole Church, after that of the Holy Father there is no name more venerated." (quoted from "Rome.")

(t) Confessio sec. 43. "Unde antem etsi volnero illas amittere et ut pergens in Britannias—et libentissime paratus eram—quasi ad patriam et parentes, non id solum sed etiam ad Gallias visitare et ut viderem faciem Sanctorum Domini mei."

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but to proceed into France also (Gallias) to see relations there too and to behold the faces of the servants of the Lord; yet his love for the people of Ireland induced him never to absent himself from the country.

In another part of the confession (u) he states that after his escape from captivity in Ireland, on landing in his native country, after three days coasting along the shore, he underwent serious hardships, travelling through a desert twenty eight days before he reached the residence of his family. He does not mention the port in Ireland where he went aboard ship, but that he travelled two hundred miles before he found one, and that it was ready to sail when he arrived. Neither does he mention the spot where he disembarked. The three days coasting is easily reconciled with the features of the Western coast of Scotland; and the desert hardships with the peculiarities of the Caledonian forest, but with no other part of Britain; while France is excluded altogether, for then as now it was the easiest country in Europe to travel over. Those two paragraphs refute Dr. Lanigan.

Before quitting this part of the subject, permit me a further remark on the corroborative force of the testimony of tradition. Let me suppose a case. Bishop Burke died as many years ago, as St Patrick's death preceeded the expedition of King Roderick from Wales to the Clyde. Would it be today possible to erect a church in the State of Maine, make people believe it was built years ago in memory of Bishop Burke's birthplace there, make the people of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton believe that, make the people of Ireland believe, make all the monks in North America believe it, insert it in the proper Breviary of the Diocese of Portland, record it in all the church archives, and make it in a word a universal tradition which would be transmitted for fourteen centuries without a whisper of contradiction? Yet, something exactly like this and equally incredible must have happened if St. Patrick were not born at Kilpatrick on the Clyde. Father D'Aulton, the author of the article on Ireland in the American Catholic Encyclopedia (v) really says enough when he says in substance that the traditional belief

(u) Ibidem sec. 17, 19, and 22.

(v) Supra cit.

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is sufficiently established by such tradition itself.

All this I place here as merely corroborative, but corroboration of any kind is never more than relative. The written testimony of ancient writers is principal, and stands firm and intact even if there be no corroborative evidence at all, and corroboration without the principle would be absolutely inane.

Let me illustrate by example. In this province, on the banks of a stream where to beguile the tedium of the hour, I often cast a piscatory fly, and nearly as often visit two old friends who reside there, to have a friendly chat at their "ain ingle side." They have lived in their present dwellings the last thirty years. Business, in no way connected with them, led me at one time to make an examination of the Registry of Deeds; and a similarity of names led me to the knowledge that one of my friends and his father before him had a title in fee simple to the homestead property; but that the other was merely a tenant who paid a yearly rent. Thus, the fact of residence was corroborative of the record in the former case; while in the latter it had no value whatever in defining ownership, simply because there was no record, or rather one that was destructive.

In the question of St. Patrick's birthplace, the fact I have quoted, has representative value which I need not further explain. There are no title deeds for Wales or France in the Registry of Deeds. There is no record.

OTHER OPINIONS.

There is no opinion now held contrary to what I have placed before you, that is, no opinion urged by a writer who has the least weight in the popular mind, or the least influence on the sentiments of the learned. The case was otherwise during the middle half of the last century, particularly so far as many of the intelligent, and all the less enlightened, people of Ireland were concerned. For a time, they believed that St. Patrick was born in France; and thus they temporarily rejected the tradition which every one of them had learned in childhood. It was a change of sentiment; and they rejoiced in the change. Why and how this effect was produced, is perhaps matter of interesting inquiry. From the time the Scottish nation rejected the Celtic religion, as it generally did except in a few isolated localities, it was matter of regret to

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Irishmen who just as generally held fast by the ancient faith, that their apostle should owe his nativity to a country that no longer professed the religious tenets he had inculcated. This regret which was vivid from the beginning, stung like a reproach from the union with England in 1801 to the passage of the Emancipation Act in 1829; for during the whole of that period the people of Scotland, through their members in the House of Commons, steadily and almost unanimously resisted the free exercise of the Catholic religion, which the Act of Emancipation was intended to reintroduce; and which, it was well known, Mr. Pitt had promised as a result of Ireland's loss of her own Parliament, and of her acceptance of the terms of union with the larger island. A majority of English, Welsh, and Irish members would have without much ceremony overcome King George III's reluctance to grant political freedom to his Catholic subjects; but the stolid opposition of the Scottish, both in their own country and in the "Black" North of Ireland inspired and encouraged the narrow minded though otherwise not ill disposed monarch, in his persistent refusal to be not generous, but just, till the day of his death. Scotland retarded Catholic Emancipation for more than twenty years; and it was during these twenty years that Dr. Lanigan's volumes were receiving publication. Influenced not improbably by the prevailing sentiment, he believed that arguments could be adduced to substantiate a French birth for St. Patrick; and the belief on publication immediately became popular. You may regard the cause of its popularity as trivial, but it was none the less effective. The Catholics of Ireland did not as a class relish the idea that their venerated apostle should owe birth to a non-Catholic land that upheld penal legislation. I am not sure that they relish it yet; and I am far from saying that the feeling is unnatural in the circumstances. I suppose if I were an Irishman, my inclinations would be in accord with theirs on the point. Dr. Lanigan's theory however was short-lived; and since Cardinal Moran's monograph in the Dublin Review in 1880, no author of repute has reproduced it, although several lives of St. Patrick have been published during the last thirty years. Dr. Lanigan assigned the birth place to Bretagne sur mere in France, and when that specific locality was proved impossible by succeeding writers, other men appeared in the press, and urged

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the claims of various places some in France, and some elsewhere. Each one in turn was refuted; and it was this very fact of refutation that caused new theories to be formed. But the true verdict of history, as I will show more fully later on, is against all French theories alike; and because this truth became manifest Professor Bury (a) imagines the Severn in Britain to be the true locality; the late Fr. Barry, of Cork, in what I believe to be a purely academic dissertation, maintains that it is the riverlet Clwydd in Wales; and Dr. Egan (c) of Reserve Mines, in a lecture at Whitney Pier, March 17, 1909, argued for some part of the same principality without very closely defining the spot.

REFUTATION.

The Black Book of Carmarthen had not been evoked from the archives, and Taliessyn's express location of Emthor on the Clyde made known to the public, when Dr. Lanigan wrote his voluminous work; and Archbishop Healy (a) is of opinion that, if the history of Dr. Lanigan had been postponed a few years, it would not have contained the assertion of a Gallic birthplace. I believe myself that if it reach another edition, the Editor, whoever he be, will add a marginal corrective note. Other facts also can be alleged as a cause why Dr. Lanigan fell into historical error.

The "Confessio" of St. Patrick was not then as now unanimously regarded as a genuine, but sometimes supposed to be an early contemporary work of the apostle. The exact date when a part of France began to be called Britain had not yet been accurately ascertained. Antiquarians had not yet pointed out the terminal difference in spelling observed by old authors between *Brittanniae*, the name of the island, and *Brittannia* the name of the Continental locality. It is however matter of inferior moment what the motives were which actuated the Doctor, or whence they drew origin, so long as a solid refutation can be made of his theory, which after all is based on

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- (a) Bury's Life of St. Patrick.
 - (b) Article in *I. Eccl. Record*.
 - (c) Reported in *Sydney Daily Post* the following day.
 - (a) Life and writings of St. Patrick.

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C'Sullivan Beares's fallacy (b) and by logical rule would be formulated as follows:—

There is a place called Britain in France,
St. Patrick was born in Britain;
Therefore St. Patrick was a Frenchman.

It is strange indeed that so acute and learned a man as O'Sullivan Beare did not perceive that even the ignorant would notice the absence of inference in the ratiocination. As logicians say, there is an undistributed middle term in the syllogism which is therefore, properly speaking, no syllogism at all. One might as well say, as far as the logical force of the argument goes:—"There are houses in France; St. Patrick was born in a house; therefore, he is a Frenchman."

The terms *Britanniae* and *Britannia*, the former an island, the latter a part of Armorica Gaul, are both indifferently rendered into English by the one word "Britain"; but old writers invariably apply the former term to the insular; and the latter to the Armorican, British Colony. No author said there was a place called *Britanniae* in France; and even if one had said so, it would prove nothing so long as it could not be shown that there was a Nemthor, or Alclud, or the proper name Dumbritton, or Kilpatrick there. Old French writers do indeed mention that St. Patrick was educated in France, point out the places where he sojourned during his stay there, and tell the very spot where he planted a tree before going away, but not one of them says that he was born on continental ground.

On the contrary, Cardinal Moran (c) informs us that one ancient annalist says, that St. Patrick was carried captive in his youth from France to Ireland; but that the old author previously mentions that the saint had come as a child with his parents into France from Britain.

Adherents to Dr. Lanigan's theory constrain an argument from the fact that St. Patrick's mother was a niece or sister of St. Martin of Tours, who, though a Pannonian by birth, was a bishop in Gaul, where probably his sister also resided and could then be called a French woman. Since his

(b) Patrician Decas. Madrid. Sole edition I believe.

(c) Supra cit.

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mother was French, they say, that very probably St. Patrick also was a Frenchman. "Very probably" is a phrase that is valued at a cipher when opposed to undoubted contrarious facts. Besides there is nothing impossible in the narrative about Conchessa that I have given from Jocelyn; and even if there were, it would always remain true that Calpurnius, the father of Patrick, was a Decurio, who might have seen military service and married in any part of the then known world, before he became domiciled on the banks of the Clyde.

Lobineau (d) states it was in the year 458 that some of the inhabitants of Great Britain, fleeing before the Saxons, landed in Armorica, Gaul, and subsequently gave the name of Britain to the territory, into which they were forced to migrate. St. Patrick had then been on the mission in Ireland for twenty six years; and the newly named place would not, under the novel appellation, be perhaps ever heard of by him during his life.

It was not generally known abroad until long after his death. "Britain," in his time and that of his early biographers, could mean nothing more than one of the five Britains or Britanniae into which for administrative purposes, the Romans had divided their insular and most Western dependency; and, very shortly after his death, the one province alone that had not been dominated by the Saxons retained the appellation.

The great defect in the argument of Dr. Lanigan and of those who partially agree with him is this:—it is supported by no one of the early biographers. Even if it were admitted for a moment that the singular form of the word "Britannia" could licitly be predicated of the island, it would only follow that inasmuch, the claims of France and Scotland would be equal; and then the words of Taliessin, and the mention of the Clyde by the early writers, and their absolute silence so far as France or any of its departments is concerned, would destroy, as they have actually destroyed, Dr. Lanigan's theory forever.

The two most skillful and successful Generals in the latter days of the Roman Empire were Theodosius the Great and the celebrated Stilicho. Both were, but not at the same time, in command on the Clyde. The troops of the former were

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stationed in Dumbarton when St. Patrick was born; and Stilicho was there when St. Patrick escaped from captivity. The inhabitants of both banks of the river were never before or since in more absolute peace and security than when the community was under the direct regimen of these warlike chiefs. The interregnum between them was signalized by the short lived furtive invasion which made Patrick a prisoner and slave, captured not by Caledonian raiders, but by rovers from Ireland. Patrick as a boy lived in a peaceful atmosphere; and when as a young man, he returned home from Ireland he found a happy and prosperous community and friends glad to welcome him back, and urgent in entreaty that he would remain with them all his life. He disregarded their requests; and proceeded to France to prepare for a mission to Ireland; because as he states in his Confessio, an inner voice stimulated his affection for the latter country and overcame the inducement of all contrary motives. To live at home would be an easy and agreeable task; but to go to Ireland was a duty paramount to other considerations of any and every kind. His own words moreover are plainly subversive of the attempt to show that Scotland was an impossible birthplace on the pretext of raids from Caledonia.

Raids, even when there was no Roman Camp at Dunbarton to render the adjoining country immune, were never ubiquitous. They were made into Lowland Scotland down till the middle of the eighteenth century; and still there were many happy households all the time that were never harassed. Rob Roy never drove away the cattle of any of the Duke of Argyle's friends. But it is idle to argue the question at all, so long as the direct positive testimony I have quoted stands intact. No supposition of raids probable or possible can outweigh it. *Contra factum non valet argumentum.*

PROFESSOR BURY.

The theory that St. Patrick was born on the Severn is mentioned in a recent very readable and more inaccurate Book which purports to be the life of St. Patrick. Professor Bury a distinguished Oxonian is the author; and gives this opinion without, however, adding any arguments in its support. He merely states that such is his belief. History is not written that way, or biography either, and *Quod gratis asser-*

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itur, gratis negare licet. He advances two assertions, however, that demand passing attention; one because it has remote reference to the birthplace; and the other because it is an error more extensively circulated in modern than in bygone times.

The Professor confounds St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland with the contemporary evangelist Seann Patrick or St. Patrick senior, and both of them with St. Palladius. The second mentioned was a native of Wales who labored in Ireland and was one of the six coadjutors whom St. Patrick selected, and who all but one predeceased him. These six, like his suffragans are called Bishops by the old writers, while St. Patrick alone is called Archbishop. St. Aengus, author of the first martyrology that was written in Ireland—the oldest obituary record we have of the early missionaries—says in his "Felire" that Seann Patrick died on the 24 August, and St. Patrick the Patron and Apostle on the 17th, March. Other saints are mentioned under other dates and these dates; remain unaltered until this day. He calls Seann Patrick, "the amiable preceptor of our Patron;" and the absurd but affecting myth that has not yet died out among the ignorant that Seann Patrick successfully begged as a favor that his own soul's entrance into heaven should be delayed until St. Patrick's death, so that both should be admitted to happiness at the same moment, is proof enough, without the abundant written record, that the Irish people were careful in distinguishing the two personalities. When was Seann Patrick the tutor of "his patron?" We know aliunde that the apostle to enter on his studies first visited his uncle St. Martin of Tours, and after St. Martin's death, prosecuted his theological researches under St. Germanus of Aux-er-re. We know further that St. Germanus accepted an invitation from the Welsh bishops to visit Wales to confer with them about the best means to eliminate Pelagian errors out of the Welsh Church. It is quite probable, practically certain indeed, that St. Patrick accompanied him, and thus he could become for a time the pupil of the learned Welshman, who afterwards became his coadjutor. This is plausible and very probably the way, in which a native of Wales first became attached to St. Patrick, and afterwards joined him in Ireland. His merits and learning raised him to the Episcopate and the honor of

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canonization later on.

St. Palladius again and St. Patrick had different missions from Rome. The former was sent "to convert the Irish people." It is quite probable that he found a few Christians, particularly among the slave population, when he arrived; and it is certain that he established three or four churches before he went away to preach to the Picts in Scotland. St. Patrick had indeed been sent from Rome to assist him, and in due time to succeed him in authority—his mission is to the "Christians in Ireland"—but having learned on his journey, that St. Palladius had left the country, was consecrated Bishop himself, and immediately organized a band of preachers, and went with them to Ireland, where his labors became the admiration of Christendom.

The Severn is a Welsh River of importance, but not on its banks was St. Patrick born or even Seann Patrick his tutor who, however, was a native of Wales. We know this from the *Annales Cambriae* which gives very full information about every prominent Welshman that interested himself in matters ecclesiastical in those days. These *Annales* have an eulogistic account of Seann Patrick, recount his labors in Ireland and the time of his death, and even attribute to him some actions which all other writers attribute to St. Patrick alone. Would the *annales* not have claimed St. Patrick too as a fellow countryman if they truthfully could? They claimed every one of his Welsh contemporaries who made the least mark. This is negative testimony, it is true; but all the positive confirms it; or rather, it illustrates the positive testimony.

Professor Bury lays down as a lemma that St. Patrick wrought no miracles. He admits freely enough that many of his works appeared miraculous to the ignorant and unthinking persons who were witnesses; but he maintains that they can all be explained as the result of purely natural causes. Now miracles are the first test which our Lord appeals to, Matt. XI.4; the apostles appealed to nothing else; for the citation of the Messianic predictions of the old Testament is simply invoking the interposition of prophecy—itself one of the most astounding of miracles. The ignorant and the learned alike must bow before the power that works a truly miraculous event. In fact, no idolatrous multitude was ever converted in ancient times by any other means. No missionary

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other than he who "*fecit mirabilia in vita sua*," converted a heathen nation. I do not here deny that a cultured people like the Japanese could come to the knowledge of the truth by the Grace of God acting through mere mental enlightenment on the Law and the Prophets; neither do I consider the case of children as in the British African colonies who from childhood are trained by European teachers in christian schools, and who will in time be themselves the nation; but I believe that such a population as that of Ireland in the fifth century, could not be converted, as Ireland was converted, without the interposition of real miracles. The same generation that saw them heathens, saw them converts, and not only converts, but converts of that character that gave to the church militant a larger proportion of celibate priests and holy nuns—all adult heathens a few years previously—than any other Christian people in the world before or since. If this change could be effected without a miracle, it itself would be a puzzle that would defy explanation by all the natural and social laws in the world. This by the way. Suffice it here to state that Professor Bury's theory of a birth place has no support in history; nor has the professor pretended to give it any. He makes no attempt whatever to explain away the testimony of the early biographers.

FATHER BARRY.

Several years ago, but the exact date I cannot recollect, a friend gave me a recent copy of the Irish Ecclesiastical Record to read, and asked me to give my opinion next day of an article in it by Father Barry of Cork on the Birth place of St. Patrick. My friend wished to ascertain, as he afterwards told me, whether I agreed with him in regarding the article as purely academic. I certainly did and so informed him. (d) "But," said he, "some fool will be apt to regard it as written seriously; and it may be well some day to give it a thorough refutation." I did not coincide in this view of the matter; for I saw at a glance that Fr. Barry based his theory on three utterly untenable assumptions which I did not then think, could mislead any reader of history, viz., 1st, that North

(d) Cabalistic Dial. p 17. 1682. "These arguments I propose academically and for experiments sake."

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Wales was called North Britain in olden times; 2nd, that on the streamlet Clwydd in the Welsh country was a place called Ailcluade; and 3rd, that the Bollandists meant Wales when they spoke of North Britain. I noted further that even if these three assertions were true, they would not prove Fr. Barry's contention; since it is absolutely certain that Lowland Scotland also was in old times called North Britain, and that the name Ailcluade was commonly applied from the time of Agricola to a place on the river now known all over the world as the Clyde. The old authors and the universal tradition, and the perfect silence of every writer for centuries as to Wales, would still be decisive against the new theory.

There were no books in our possession that we could consult at the moment. Through deference to my host, I wrote to a friend across the water, a most capable and obliging person, to examine the *Annales Cambriae* for any notice whatever direct or indirect of St. Patrick's birth place, since I could recall none myself; to write me besides, where the earliest mention he could find in early history, is made of the riverlet Clwydd in Wales, and finally to inform me whether he knew any writer to have ever called Wales or any part of it by the name of North Britain. My friend has leisure and opportunities for the investigation of such questions. Fr. Barry, mind you, gives no reference for his main assertions, though he quotes various authors on outside issues.

My friend replied categorically:—

1. The *Annales Cambriae* have no mention of St. Patrick's birth place, or any mention at all of St. Patrick's name;
- 2 There is no mention in early history of the river Clwydd;
3. Nobody ever called any part of Wales, North Britain.

I do not, of course, urge these responses as arguments; for this inquiry on my part was not necessary, and the obligation rests on the advocate to prove his case; and until he does so, it is properly regarded as false. Fr. Barry does not in his article prove his case academically or in any other way; for he does not produce any witness whose words expressly or by implication support his main contention. The most relevant thing he has is a quotation from Macthèni that St. Patrick was born in Britain, and a panegyric on Macthèni himself, in both of which most people will concur.

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A highly intelligent friend has since informed me in conversation that Giraldus Cambrensis has a notice of the Clywdd—entirely unconnected with St. Patrick's birth or life—and calls it Arraclusae. This confirms the opinion that the name originated in modern Welsh. Any way it is not found, or anything like it, in ancient Welsh nomenclature. Cambrensis died in the thirteenth century.

The Rev. Gerald Stack, a priest of Irish birth, but on the Scottish mission, in a pamphlet mainly devoted to a refutation of Dr. Lanigan's theory, incidently pulverizes Fr. Barry's elucubration, by simply arraying against it some of the proofs of the Scottish birth place. Archbishop Healy devotes one withering sentence to it, saying with perfect reason that it is utterly "unsupported by any authority whatever." Neither of these two explicitly says that the whole work is simply an academic effort. No other person, so far as I know, ever thought it worth consideration of any kind until the paper read by Dr. Egan at Whitney Pier on March 17, 1909, gave occasion to a breezy sort of discussion in the local press, that with the exception of one thoughtful letter over the nom d' plume of D. M., is really not worth the trouble of reading a second time. Who D. M. is, I may conjecture; yet I am not certain; but I know that his high estimate of Archbishop Healy's "Life and Writings of St. Patrick," induced me to get the book; and I take this opportunity of expressing my full concurrence. It is by far the best of over forty biographies I have read of the Saint. Cashel Hoey's paper also is interesting and instructive in many things, though errant on our question. But this, to use the words of Ridyard Kipling, is another story.

A second and third letter also signed D. M., appeared. It was the same nom d' plume that had been seen before; but the contents as well as the authors were widely different, and I need not say, vastly inferior. Until the publication of these two missives, I did not know that the vile habit of assuming without leave the nom d' plume of another newspaper writer, which has long been stamped out of existence in the respectable press elsewhere, could find favor with even one scribbler in Cape Breton. The low lived practice can only exist where editors are too busy to scrutinize as closely as they would wish, the M. S. of correspondents. It

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cannot long survive; it is no easy matter to deceive even a dull editor a third or fourth time; and Cape Breton editors are assuredly as a class anything but a stupid confraternity. Pseudo D. M. will with difficulty, I should say, gain favorable access again to the same editorial sanctum.

His communication to the Sydney Post, which by the way is a very respectable journal, divides itself naturally into three parts:—1st, a somewhat personal attack on a correspondent who had a letter in a previous issue of the same newspaper; but as there was nothing in this part—five sixths of pseudo D. M.'s letter—at all relevant to St. Patrick's birth place—I dismiss it here without comment; 2, a series of four brief questions which are the silliest contribution to a controversy in the press, that ever I knew in 40 years experience gained by that length of time, in more or less intimate relation with more than one editorial sanctum; 3rd, a short peroration which means nothing at all. Underlying the whole hodge podge is a half veiled innuendo that Dr. Egan had engaged in a controversy and vanquished an opponent, who had tried to cast ridicule on Dr. Egan's lecture.

The first of the questions, on which the other three hinged was this:—"Who discovered the site of the memorial church to St. Patrick on the Clyde?" To understand the matter, it is necessary to note that a paper was read in the L. O. C. Hall, at Reserve, on the evening of March 17th, stating on the authority of the Ogygia that pilgrimages were made to Kilpatrick in olden times; and the newspaper correspondent in reporting it to his journal used the word "Aberdeen Breviary" instead of Ogygia which was really quoted. Pseudo D. M. will not accept the authority of the Breviary, unless his question above given be first satisfactorily answered. It was just as if your local paper here, would give an account of a meeting in this hall, and a newspaper correspondent would thereupon deny the existence of the hall, unless somebody told him who discovered its site. The other three questions were if possible more absurd. Of course, argument like that was not vested with the dignity of deserving refutation; and nobody, so far as I know, ever thought pseudo D. M. needed any reply.

The innuendo again that Dr. Egan vanquished an opponent is based on the fallacy that any controversialist ever really

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vanquished another. If there was a case of defeat, the defeated one simply vanquished himself either by advocating an untenable cause; or by trying to support a tenable cause by untenable argument.

I had almost forgotten that Pseudo D. M. complains that another writer had tried to ridicule Dr. Egan's Lecture, forgetting in saying so, that all the ridiculing words in the world would not affect it in the least, unless the element of being ridiculous were first in the Lecture itself. The other writer quoted from Dr. Egan's own writing the parts he criticized. The words were present in evidence, therefore, and would of themselves tell whether their real meaning were discussed or otherwise, whether they were ridiculous or not. Any comment on them could not change their character.

Father Barry's dissertation calls to mind a much cleverer pamphlet of the same kind which will serve to show very clearly what an "academic" argument really means. When Hume's essay against the possibility of the Scripture miracles was causing some discussion, Archbishop Whately published a pamphlet in which he made use of every argument in the essay, against the existence of the campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte. They applied equally in both cases. They were academic and nothing more, *vox et preterea nihil*. As Fr. Barry tries to weaken the authority of the proper Aberdeen Breviary, it may not be out of place to remark; 1. that its testimony is simply corroborative of the old biographers, for we have no means of determining its exact date; 2 Cardinal Moran regards it as very important (c); and if we pause a moment to reflect, we too must so regard it.

Let me suppose a case. The College of St. F. Xavier in Antigonish holds a respectable place among the educational institutions of the province. It may be hereafter, if its professors keep always abreast of the advances making in the physical sciences, and become conspicuous for depth of mind and felicity of expression in explaining unchangeable dogma, that it will become celebrated in N. America and attract students from all parts of the continent. There may then be added to the sketch of St. F. X.'s life, as now found in all breviaries a note as to the cult with which he is regarded in

(c) Dublin Review, *supra cit.*

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Antigonish.

It will be new testimony to the world at large; for it will be found in the Antigonish breviary alone, and thus make it "proper." As the Breviary is the ordinary prayer book of the priest, it is evidence of the priest's belief; simply because it is his prayer book;—this "proper" part is peculiarly so. The proper Aberdeen Breviary, therefore, is a very old testimony to the belief of the priests of Lowland Scotland; and there never was a body of men, more apt to be rightly informed in antiquities of their own native country. The insertion of a "proper" paragraph indicates a widely known fact, perhaps contemporary, perhaps based on existing records; but in either case, the breviary in the matter of St. Patrick's birth voices the belief of competent witnesses in an historic, because a christian age, when errors would not be permitted to creep into such a devotional book of all publications in the world. All probably, some certainly, copies were made by Irish monks in Iona.

With a concluding example of Fr. Barry's arguments, I will dismiss the subject and bring this paper to a close. Knowing that St. Patrick went to school from home every day to a military station, and that there were no soldiers nearer than about twenty miles to the River Clywdd, Fr. Barry explains the difficulty by assuming that the youth rode daily to and from school easily enough; seeing that the fine Roman steeds of that period could with comfort to the rider travel over sixteen miles before breakfast ??? Sat prata biberunt.

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In the foregoing pages, I have reproduced the paper as it was publicly read, adding a quotation from the latest volume, which had not then been published, of the American Catholic Cyclopaedia. Several persons who had not the privilege of listening to Dr. Egan's lecture, or of reading it in the press, have since asked me as a favor to give his principal arguments, when I would publish my own remarks. I will do this in his own words (a) premising merely that I will quote from the third, and presumably improved, edition, as given at Glace Bay last March, having been read the previous year both there and at Whitney Pier.

A MAXIMIS AD MINIMA.

There is a very wide difference between the writings of Dr. Lanigan and those of such persons as the reboant scribbler (b) who reported Dr. Egan's first effort in one of the newspapers, and said that he exploded the opinion of all the older antiquarians, by proving St. Patrick's birth in Wales by means of a chart. A year afterward, another newspaper (c) declared that it was a map that served in this unusual capacity. Seriously speaking, a map or a chart cannot prove the birth place of any living being; but if the name or the latitude and longitude of a locality be given by other sources as the spot, then a correct map will show exactly where that spot is located; and a chart will inform sailors of the distance from land and of the exact depth of water at low tide, if the place in the sea has been very accurately reached and the anchor dropped with reasonable precision. However as Dr. Egan's published lecture partially omits the map and ignores the chart altogether; and as he has since repudiated his bucolic reporter (d) it is not necessary to make further investigation into that phase of the question.

Nor is it of such importance though it may be of interest (e) to note that the Dr. in the press challenged all and sundry to meet him and discuss the issue on a public platform. The invitation passed along unheeded into oblivion; perhaps because

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- (a) Glace Bay Standard, March 28, 1910.
 - (b) Reported in Sydney Post, March 18, 1909.
 - (c) Glace Bay Standard, March 18, 1910.

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as the evidence to be submitted on the occasion to the erudite audience, is all in Latin or Gaelic, the assemblage would not take engrossing interest, when the Dr. and an opponent would wrangle over the doubt whether a Latin verb had the significance of an English tense or of a Greek aorist; or whether shifting the accent from the ultimate to the penultimate syllable, would change the meaning of a classical Gaelic noun. It was, in fact, really doubted in some quarters, whether our average crowd is a competent judge of the peculiar idioms of a dead language; and in that case, the view of the benefit to be derived from a public debate became decidedly sombre, to say the least. Doubts developed into adverse certainty when Dr. Egan, in a public letter, endorsed the four absurd queries which Pseudo D. M. had inserted in the press about twelve months before, and thus fairly outlined the sort of subjects that he would have introduced into debate. "As well," said one person, "call a meeting to listen to a discussion in Greek whether the sun always rose in the morning, with the hope of deciding it in the negative, unless the name of some man who actually saw the fact in the year 592 were adduced, and his words proved to be his genuine utterance."

Do not imagine for one moment that Dr. Egan and Pseudo D. M. are one and the same person. There is proof that they are not, though they both write good English. Dr. Egan has an assured conviction that St. Patrick was a Welshman; while Pseudo D. M. expressly asserts that he has "an open mind" on the point, and presumably would immediately believe him to have been a Scotchman, if only the man who discovered the site of Kilpatrick Church could be identified. For a similar reason he will, I suppose, withhold belief in the existence of Westminster Abbey, until the man will have turned up who discovered the site of London. To all appearance his mind will be open for some time yet; but Dr. Egan's opinion like my own and that of almost all other people I think, is made up on the latter question. Whatever we may believe about the nativity of St. Patrick, we have no doubt whatever that there is in actual existence a building known as Westminster Abbey. This makes the Dr's. endorsement of Pseudo D. M's. queries a mystery, but che volete, this is a country of free opinion. It is perhaps significant that he did not discover their inanity in a whole year.

Revenons a nos moutons. The first part of the Dr's

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rather unique lecture is devoted to a general discussion of the authorities that can be profitably consulted; and as this does not immediately affect the issue, and as each authority must stand on its own particular merits and demerits when it is invoked, it does not seem necessary to make prolix remarks at this stage. However, I quote:— (f)

"The seventh Life of Colgan (1) contains many such silly fables as the foregoing; (2) and yet writers like Malone and Morris, Moran and Healy, Cashel and Fleming, all (3) of whom are guilty of having written "Lives" of St. Patrick, freely admit (4) that their foundation stone in every case has been the "Tripartite Life." Most of these modern lives are therefore worthless, and they have thrown discredit on the great Apostle of Ireland, (5) and as the most of our local writers and lecturers pin their faith to Moran and Healy, the strength (?) of their arguments (6) can be readily appreciated. A chain (7) is no stronger than its weakest link, and a stream cannot rise higher than its source; hence if the Tripartite life is mainly made up of foolish fables and silly Kish-gues, we can surely be excused from honoring the lectures and the writings that take their origin (9) from such a source."

I have inserted numerals here for the sole purpose of keeping distinct subjects in distinct places in the reader's mind. (1) Whether Colgan's seventh life contains silly stories or not, has nothing whatever to do with the question of St. Patrick's birth place; nor does any writer cite a silly story to prove that he was born in France, or Scotland, or anywhere else. In connection with the name of the great apostle, as with the name of every person that was ever talked much of in the world, apocryphal anecdotes have always been related, but they invariably referred to his words and actions, not to the place where he was born, or to a time of life when he was too young to manifest much of either one or the other. It is singing outside the choir, to refer to them at all in a discussion about a birthplace.

It is a mistake (2) to assume that a biography which contains mistakes on other matters, is of necessity in error when it mentions the place of nativity also. Reasons can easily be given why some writers' prejudices would lead them into ab-

(d) Letter to Sydney Post. (e) ibidem

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surditities when narrating the exploits of a favorite hero; but no reason in the world can be alleged why they should invent a birthplace for him, that would add nothing to his renown. I have recently read a life of St. Anthony of Padua, which contains occasional narratives that I regard as of very doubtful authenticity, but this never induces a suspicion that the author may be wrong, when he says that the saint was born in Lisbon. How often have we not seen in sketches of the Duke of Wellington's life, that he cried out at a critical period of the battle of Waterloo: "Up guards and at 'em;" but the fabulous exclamation does not affect the credibility of the assertion in the same publications, that the Iron Duke was a native of Ireland? Can we not recollect similar anecdotes regarding Abram Lincoln, and in fact every man of whom much has been written; and yet the writers of these "silly stories" were accurate enough in recording such common place incidents as time and place of birth and death. The reference in the lecture, therefore, is not only the introduction of a foreign subject, but is also based on a false principle in historical discussion. It is as who should begin to teach arithmetic by saying that twice two is five and a half.

It is untrue (3) that all of the writers whose names are mentioned, have written—a majority of them has not, if I remember aright—Lives of St. Petrick; and it is doubly untrue that even one of those who did, cited with approval any silly stories from the M. S. S. discovered by Dr. Colgan or other records. The Tripartite has perhaps a greater number of unfounded stories on an average than its predecessors and successors; but there is room for reflection, if not for argument, in the fact that they all agree on the birthplace. Is it probable, perhaps I shou'd say is it possible, that false documents originating in different places, and where there has been no collusion between the authors, should all agree in asserting that a specified event occurred in the same one particular locality, when there was the whole Roman world to choose from? Does chance work after so peculiar a fashion?

It is impossible (4) that writers who never wrote a life of St. Patrick will admit that they copied from the Tripartite i. doing what they never did do; and it is simply untrue that any writer of such a life—any that ever I read anyway—"freely

(f) The Standard, Glace Bay, vol II, No. 72, p 2.

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admitted, that his foundation in every case was the Tripartite." Dr. Egan gives no references which is unfortunate for his contention. Modern biographers as a rule have shown great judgment in selecting from the old authorities, and do not accept any of them "in every case" they relate. It is untrue again that (5) Modern Lives have thrown discredit on the great Apostle." On the contrary they have extended his fame, whatever old records may have done. I do not know one that does otherwise—it is the purpose for which they were written—and the Dr. again unfortunately forgets to give names, and references, that would lead one to more thorough investigation.

It is untrue again (6) that "Local lecturers and writers"—I believe I myself am regarded as the only one to come under the designation in the actual circumstances—"pin their faith to Moran and Healy." Now, I made my humble researches into the "Annals" seventeen years before Cardinal Moran's monograph appeared in the Dub'in Review, and nearly as many more before Dr. Healy's life of St. Patrick was published. The paper I then wrote—I have mislaid it since—was read before learned men, and naturally was drawn up with much more care than the present one. It was—I should say—a less imperfect composition; for I was a younger man, and had easier access to all the sources extant of information. Naturally, I suppose, I was glad afterwards when I saw that all my contentions could be supported by the great authority of the first antiquarian of the age in Celtic matters, and of one of the best, if not the very best of modern Irish hagiographers. (g) Dr. Egan evidently sees Cardinal Moran and Archbishop Healy in a different light from that of many other men; the contemptuous reference to His Eminence and his Grace, as Moran and Healy—men of "Kishogues and worthless arguments," is proof enough of this. He will not permit them to jostle him off the track. (h) The allusion to a chain and a stream

(g) The Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, Australia, and the Archbishop of Tuam, Ireland.

(h) Said the ant to the elephant: "Do you know who you are shoving; there's one more ribber to cross" &c. Doggerel song much in vogue of nights at street corners some years ago.

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(7) is hackneyed but classical still ; and its introduction here is like a silken patch on the seat of corduroy pants. There may be garments where it would beautify the costume, but it only makes it hideous in our case. There is no link in the Tripartite chain, no drop in the Tripartite stream, that is made use of by modern writers to illustrate "silly stories;" none of the arguments (8) for a Scottish birth place are drawn from a doubtful Tripartite narrative. I quote again:—

"The Leabhar Breach, the Glossarist and the Scholiast "on the metrical life of St. Fiach assert that he was born in "Ailcluith, and (9) Colgan, Moran and Healy together with "some unreliable Scotch writers, (10) declare on the strength "of that statement that he was born at Dumbarton or Kilpatrick in Scotland, while a Dutch priest (11) using the same "data places him in Holland."

(9) The Dr. is inaccurate again and suggests that which is not. It is not on the strength of Fiach's statement alone, or on that of any one author; but on the statements of every writer without exception who refers to the subject from the fifth to the twelfth century, that the Scottish birth place is founded. (10) There is not even one Scottish writer, so far as I know, nor have I quoted any, who has treated the question at all, except the compiler of the Aberdeen Breviary, if he really were a Scottish and not an Irish author; and the learned Father Innes of Drumgask, who makes a single allusion to it. The latter does not discuss it; but he makes a passing remark that St. Patrick was born at Dumbarton; and as his habit is to give reference even for well known facts he simply tells us, in his somewhat quaint English, that this is the opinion of "the learndest Irish" and other men. Fr. Innes says this in his "Critical Essay on the ancient inhabitants of Scotland;" (f) and so far is that work from being regarded as untrustworthy, that it is considered by all Catholics and Protestants alike, as the most reliable work in print on the subject. "Fr. Innes," says a non Catholic writer, (g) "is a greater lover of truth than he is of his own religion;" forgetting that in Fr. Innes' mind the distinction between the two was only as that between the whole and a part. Dr. Egan is the first man in the world to cast suspicion on the veracity of Fr. Innes; and as he gives neither reference, citation nor authority for the unworthy accusation, I simply do

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not believe that he is right. For goodness sake Dr., give us something more than your own word, particularly when you make serious charges that have a nasty racial flavor. Why bring a Scotchman of the eighteenth century into the discussion at all? It is not his fault that St. Patrick was born at Dumbarton. (11) I do not profess to be as well acquainted with Dutch Literature as the Dr. is; I can hardly translate a Dutch quotation without looking into the dictionary for almost as many words as I understand without doing so; still as I never heard before of the Dutch biographer that the Dr. raises up to confront us, I must regard him as fabulous, until the Dr. or somebody else shall have given explanation. Even if there should be, although I don't believe there is, a native of Holland of the opinion ascribed to him, it would not prove that St. Patrick was a Dutchman; but only that a Dutch biographer, after reading certain old records, thought he was. It is in common knowledge that a Cape Breton physician of decided skill and ability, after perusing the same records, came to the conclusion that he was a Welshman. No other persons, ascertainable by ordinary quest, have given evidence of aberration of intellect by believing either one opinion or the other. I quote again:—

"That Britain ie England, Wales and Scotland (12) was the native land of the Apostle of Ireland is not now doubted."

(12) I note this sentence now, but I may recall it hereafter, for it is perhaps not easy of reconciliation with some expressions later on that have not the same merit of being in accordance with fact. What I mean is that the quoted words may serve as a refutation of something else before I shall have done.

I quote again:—"The romans (13) never thoroughly Romanized Scotland as they did England and Wales."

(13) Here again is an inaccuracy which is equivalent to a downright untruth. Its force as an argument would be as follows:—St. Patrick, a Roman citizen by birth, could not be born at Dumbarton, because Dumbarton is in Scotland; and Scotland was never romanized. The truth of history is, and every school boy even will tell you, that the Highlands of Scotland were never Romanized at all, never even overrun; but that the Lowlands which include Dumbarton, were Roman-

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ized the same year as Northern England, and remained Romanized longer than any other part of Great Britain, simply because the other parts were Saxonized before them. I quote again:—

"In the year 398 when St. Patrick is about ten years of age, (14) the fort on the Clyde was entirely demolished." (15) If St. Patrick was only ten years of age in the year 398, he would have been thirteen years in 401, taken captive in 404, and recovered his freedom in 410. Now, I don't suppose that Dr. Egan will assert that all the biographers are wrong who state expressly that St. Patrick after escaping from captivity visited his relative St. Martin of Tours; but St. Martin of Tours had died and gone to Heaven before 401. There is or never was any doubt of this, more than there is of the date of Napoleons death. Dr. Egan therefore must be wrong, or St. Martin must have risen again from the dead, after a dozen years burial; and the former is the more creditable working hypothesis. St. Patrick really was twenty six years of age in 398, studying in France, most probably in the monastery of Lerins; but why follow the argument? The fort of Dumbarton was not demolished then. St. Bedes's word, and that of a score of authors, forbid the supposition—anyway the fact is not relevant—for it would prove absolutely nothing about the birthplace, more than a map or a chart would. I quote again:—

"In the year 573....a Welsh King Hall (16)....founded the Kingdom of Strathclyde." (17)

(16) King Hall is a brand new Welsh potentate that is mentioned for the first time in history in Dr. Egan's Lecture; and the only thing the matter with him is, that there never was any such person. (17) The Kingdom of Strathclyde was founded long before; for I have already quoted Taliessin, who tells us that before the year mentioned, "King Roderick the Liberal" (who had succeeded his father) "had been expelled from it, and had fled to Wales, whence he sailed back to the Clyde in 573, fought a battle, and recovered his kingdom." An exactly similar event happened in England when King Edward IV was expelled, fled to the continent, returned with an army, fought a battle at Barnet and recovered his kingdom. Recovering is different from founding, and of course Dr. Egan gives no reference for his statement and this

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is unfortunate for his readers and himself.

Now, let us recall for a moment the words of an author who has regard for the veracity of historical assertion:—"We learn from the book entitled the Triades, that when St. Kentigern was made bishop of Glasgow, Gurthmel Wledig was king of the North Britons. He was succeeded by Rydderick the Liberal....The king usually resided at Ailcluyd, or Dunbritton." (1) The same authority states that St. Kentigern fled to St. David in Wales in 543, and returned to his diocese in 560.

Three noted churchmen flourished during this period, viz., Columkille in the Scottish Islands; David in Wales; and Kentigern in the kingdom of Strathclyde; and the actions they performed, faithfully recorded by more authors than one, reflect much light on the political history of their respective countries. Arthur of whom so many fables are narrated was a real personage and reigned in Wales and Maelgan was his successor; Conal to whom his cousin Aidan succeeded in 574, held regal title and authority in the far north among the Picts and Island Scots; while in Strathclyde, which immediately affects our question, the rulers were as follows:—

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Wledig Gurthmel. | } kings |
| 2. His son, Rydderick the Liberal. (Expelled.) | |
| 3. Aeddon. | } usurpers |
| 4. Morcant Mawr. | |
| 5. Rydderick the Liberal. (Restored in 573.) | } kings |
| 6. Guallauc. (Relative.) | |
| 7. Morcaut Mynfaron. (Uncle.) | |

One looks in this list of old Gaelic names in vain for a king with the Saxon patronymic Hall. How near the time was to St. Patrick may be inferred from the fact that St. David was the disciple of Paulinus, who studied under St. Germaunus o. Auxerre probably in the same class with St. Patrick himself. Again as Gurthmel was an ancestral monarch, it is perhaps of inference that his father or grandfather was the king of Strathclyde, when the chief ain Corotic made, as chieftains of en did in those days, an independent predatory incursion into Ireland.

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I quote again:—

"Now, in Wales at that time there was a river Clwydd (18) with a town at its mouth Ailcluaiſhe or Ailcuade, (19) and it is only a reasonable presumption that Hall gave these names (20) to the northern country, because it resembled the valley of the Clywdd in his own beloved Wales."

(18) It is quite certain that there was a river in Wales which had an ancient name that is now forgotten; that it was called Arraclusae in the beginning of the thirteenth century; and that it is today called Clywdd. d Dr. Egan is wrong when he says that it was called Clywdd at "that time," and of course he gives no authority for the statement. Now there was no town called Ailcluaiſhe or Ailcuade at the mouth of the Clywdd at any time in history, then, since, or before, and nobody but Dr. Egan ever said that there was; and even if there were, it would be impossible to give the name to another town in 573 which already had the name and was everywhere known by it for over 400 years. A Welsh Ailcluaiſhe is as fabulous as a Welsh King Hall; and so I dismiss the phantoms to the land of dreams whence they should never have been evoked. There is a Dutchman there before them reading Puss in Boots, Dr. Egan's Lecture, and other works of fiction, Old King Cole, the merry old soul, and Taffy of larcenous proclivities are venerable residents. Mrs. Gamp too is goaving around there, asking for the "Ankworks packidge" without ceasing to moralize on many a reminiscence of Harrisonian wisdom.

I quote again:—

"After fourteen years St. Patrick on his way to enter on his Irish mission visited (20) his home in Britain once moreListen to his own Confession (21). Many were the gifts they [i.e. his friends] offered me....they disapproved his in-

(d) Dufours Atlas has a map of Europe, the eleventh in the series, which represents Ptolemy's map from A. D. 410 to A. D. 519. The city of Alclud is named and its place on the Clyde marked by the name. The river Clwydd, but no name is given it, is found on the map.... "Atlas pour servir a l'enseignement et a l'etude de l'histoire universelle de l'Eglise Catholique comprenait 24 cartes colorees dressees sous la direction de Roherbacher. Paris 1877."

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tention to spend his days among the Pagan Irish." (22)

The rep'y to this (20) is that it does not indicate whether his birth place was in Wales or Scotland, to say that St. Patrick visited it on his way to his mission. But the truth is that it is not certain—authorities are not of one opinion—that St. Patrick ever saw his home again after leaving it to go to France. The ancient records are silent on the point. Some may think that he did because of his great affection for the acquaintances of his chi'dhood. Others may entertain the belief that his zeal and the inward spirit that moved him, permitted him no avoidable delay on his journey. It might be added that there would be inconvenience in bringing his whole retinue off their way, for his especial pleasure. If I would suggest a consideration, it would be to the effect that if he really visited his home on the eve of his mission, the fact would be commemorated in some way. The spot on which he bade farewell to his relatives would still be recognized, just as the tree he planted in France was pointed out for centuries, and its place shown to travellers till this day. [21] The gifts here spoken of were presented—most probably, not when he was a Bishop—but when as a youth he was leaving home for France. Dr. Egan's translation of the Confessio is at fault here, but it is not worth discussing since it does not affect the arguments for a Scottish birth place. [22] It is improbable that his relatives tried to hinder his going to Ireland, as it is probable they did his going to study in France, and this may be the only hindrance his Confessio mentions. It is hardly conceivable that his Christian acquaintances would try to dissuade a missionary Bishop armed with a papal commission from going to the scene of his labors. I quote again:—

[23] "His biographers state that he sailed Northward" [g] from his native place to Ireland. If his biographers had made the statement ascribed to them, they would have contradicted themselves; and Usher, Colgan, O'Donovan, Moran, Healy, and hundreds of others—all the authorities in a word—would have believed him to have been born outside of Scotland; and they would never have invented a story that he sailed Southward either. They would simply say St. Patrick was born

[g] Of course he sailed Northward from the continent to Ireland, but the continent was not his birth place.

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somewhere to the Southward of Wicklow where he landed; but that there is no evidence to indicate the place. Not one biographer however makes the statement that Dr. Egan ascribes to them in the matter. The Doctor himself is the sole authority for it, no one ever heard it before; and with all due deference, my readers and I myself will continue to believe the old writers instead. The only truth in the Dr's statement is that Wicklow Head lies South of the Clyde and North of Wales; and this does not happen to be a historical, but a geographical truth, not only suspected, but actually believed by quite a number of people before his Lecture conveyed the sensational knowledge in words more serious than befitted the importance of the information. I quote again: [24] "Scotland was always known as Alba by the Romans, and by [25] "Britain they always understood the country now made up of "England and Wales; and not a single biographer of St. Patrick ever hinted that he was born in Alba." [26]

Alba [24] is descriptive as well as nominative, and means in the singular form a white thing of some kind, and in the plural white things, restricting the singular noun to the feminine gender, and the plural to the neuter. In our case, Alba is equivalent to either Alba terra, or Alba loca, and really means that part of Scotland which was longest covered with snow. The term was never applied to the Lowlands at all, where snow is scarcely of more frequent occurrence than in the plains of Northern Italy; nor were the Islands called Alba for the same reason. In later times, poets with the license of their calling often give the name of a part to the whole, and thus call Great Britain Albion, and Scotland, Caledonia; but we are here talking of the usual speech of St. Patrick's early biographers and their contemporaries; and they, in not one instance that I can recollect, call the country around Dumbarton, Alba. Even if they did, it would not affect the matter in dispute; or rather the argument is retortive; for it is absolutely certain, that Wales was called Cambria [26]—their very annals are called by themselves and everybody else the Annals of Cambria—and to use the Dr's words: "not a single biographer ever hinted that he was born" in Cambria.

Whatever force may be found in the argument, therefore, is against a Welsh birthplace, because the terms adduced are verified in Wales; but can have no force against Lowland Scot

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land because the terms have no place in Lowland nomenclature.

Biographers did not say St. Patrick was born in Alba, simply because he was not born there; but they did say he was born on the bank of the Clyde, because he was. I can think of no other reason for silence in the former case and expression in the latter. If he had been born in Wales somebody would have said so before the end of the nineteenth century. The new and utterly false definition (25) of the word Britain will pass unnoticed by me, but it may require from others an explanation of the paragraph I noted as No. 12. It is a pure invention; Britanniae always meant the whole island, or some part of it that was colonized by the Romans.

I quote again:—

"St. Patrick's father was a senator [26]....The saint in his confession says he was born a senator [27]....Dr. Johnson says that a Roman Senator would scarcely marry his daughter to a king." [28]

St. Patrick's father [26] was a senator exactly in the sense that a municipal councillor in Nova Scotia is a British Legislator; or rather a member of the House of Lords, [27] and St. Patrick does not say in his "Confessio" or anywhere else that himself was born a senator, but only a freeman [ingenuus.] I have already given the reference. Dr. Egan does not tell us in which of Dr. Johnson's works [28] the quoted words are found; but even if he did, I would not hunt them up; for if they were really uttered, they would refer to the time that the Roman Senate, four centuries before St. Patrick's day, was the greatest power in the world, and not to a Colonial Senate and not a Colonial Council in the fifth century, when a Colonial Senate was a mere reminiscence of departed grandeur. Each "Colonial City" says Fr. Barry and fairly quoted by Dr. Egan, "had a senate in imitation of the Roman Senate....composed of the more wealthy landowners in the neighboring country." It goes without saying that a matrimonial alliance between a country landowners daughter and a king would be a very unusual event, especially when the son of that landowner, as I have quoted above, was ordered to do menial offices by an inferior functionary, the steward of the palace. The saints own words [a] are that his father

[a] Confessio. jam cit.

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had a villula, i e, a small farm residence. This would entitle him to be a civic decurio, a colonial senator, i e, an alderman, or in our days, the equivalent would be a municipal councilor. I do not believe because I have not heard that any one of the body in our province has spurned a matrimonial proposal to his daughter from one of the grandsons of Queen Victoria; but then I do not read the fashionable intelligence, and perhaps I am in error. Anyway I am not fully convinced that the error would prove that St. Patrick was born in Wales. A decurio in military matters had charge of ten men, and was in rank the lowest officer in the army. Calpurnius probably was a decurio in both senses of the word.

Dr. Egan says the Bollandists by saying North Britain, [29] and Dr. Thomas J. Shahan [30] by academic words that he quotes, advocate his theory; and ends with a prophecy [31] that half a century from now, the birthplace at Dumbarton will be regarded as a "silly legend."

In admitting [29] that the Bollandists [b] say St. Patrick was born in North Britain, Dr. Egan really gives up his case; for it is not in human ingenuity to make anybody but himself believe, that the Bollandists thereby meant Wales. From their first writer to their last recruits who joined them this year, no one of them could be so ignorant. As well say that the Educational Institute of Teachers in New York writes about Boston in the State of Massachusetts and means by Massachusetts the peninsula of Florida; and that its members will continue to say one thing and mean another for over two hundred years—the Bollandists began to write in the seventeenth century—without any of them discovering the mistake. The doctor is imposing, though he knows it not, on the patience of readers and insulting their intelligence. When the Bollandists say North Britain, they mean North Britain and no place else. Catch the Jesuits in an act of stupidity.

In regard to Dr. Shahan [30] I will quote from the title page of the American Catholic Encyclopedia, the names of its editors. They are "Charles A. Herberman, Ph D., L. L. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph D., D. D., Conde B. Palllen, Ph D., L. L. D., THOMAS J. SHAHAN, D. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators." This, I think, dispenses quite satisfactorily of the appeal to the learned president's name and authority. It is unnecessary to dis-

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cuss the academic words the Dr. cites; i e, if they are not homemade.

Let us the rather see what the Cyclopedia [b] says. It first gives substantially in the following words, a list of the academic questions that have arisen in the matter:—"It is "still doubtful where he was born; how he spent his life between his first leaving Ireland and his return home; and in What year he died. It has been maintained that he never existed that he and Palladius were the same man; that there were two St. Patricks; again, some like Jocelyn have multiplied his miracles beyond belief. These contradictions and exaggerations have encouraged the scoffer to sneer; and Gibbon [31] was sure that in the sixty six Lives of St. Patrick, there must have been sixty thousand lies."

Nobody will pretend that there was ever more than an academic doubt of St. Patrick's existence; or that the Cyclopedia in mentioning this and other assumptions, meant to give them any real countenance; or that [31] Gibbon's words about "Lies," meaning thereby fables actually believed to be true by the writers, are not a wild exaggeration—Dr. Egan's lecture had not then been published; —for the immediately succeeding sentences of the great Cyclopedia come down to the hard pan of authentic historical fact, by saying:—"In REALITY, there seems no solid reason for doubting the traditional account, viz., that St. Patrick was born at Dumbarton in Scotland in 372.

Against his prophecy [31] let me place a prediction that is based on a most reasonable foundation. Like causes in the future will in similar circumstances produce the same effects as like causes in the past. The only thing that can change the circumstance will be the discovery of new M. S. S. at the same time authentic, and contradictory of existing records; and this is too fanciful a hypothesis to be regarded seriously for a moment.

[b] The Dr's words in the lecture are: The Bollandists "place him somewhere in Northern Britain, (England) or Northern Wales." The underlined words are home made, and not found in Bollandistic literature in the given connection.

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It is eleven years, roughly speaking, since Fr. Barry of Cork published his theory of a Welsh birthplace on the Clwydd, and up till now it has not gained one adherent in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, South America or North America, west of the Bras d'or Lake. In the favored remaining region, it has made one man a sincere disciple, it has made another man doubt,—this is an open minded sort of person who will not tell his real name:—a bucolic reporter expressed concurrence one day, but relapsed into the old belief forty eight hours afterward. If such be, and they are, the results in eleven years, what will the aggregate in fifty more amount to? It is seemingly a simple problem in the Rule of three; but there are deductions to be made; first, because an increment of historical knowledge is not quite impossible in some of the votaries; and secondly, because we are warned by the Tables of Mortality, as in use in Life Insurance Companies, that there will be vacancies in spite of all human endeavor. An estimate as generous as practically possible, will give in 1960 four men with "open minds;" one of whom will perhaps allow his name to be communicated to confidential friends; and one believer, a school boy, Aet 9, in all probability. Turn the data over; and you cannot figure out a single additional dupe. However prophecy and prediction both are here out of place, since historic truth depends, not on what people will say hereafter, but on what people said before.

Jokes aside, this Lecture ought never to have attained the publicity of print. Like Mrs. Stucky and her boy at the banquet, it is noticeable on account of its unimportance (d). Its home made King Hail, Dutch biographer, sail Northwards from St. Patrick's birthplace, and City of Ailcluaithen Wales,—and they are the only postulates which, if true, would give qualified cogency to the argument,—are not entitled to as much credence as the history of Jack the Giant Killer; for the latter has at least some antiquity to boast of, and much concomitance in the testimony of boys to offer as vouchers. Real facts can be learned from the Lecture, only as the lives of innumerable children are saved by pins,—by their not swallowing them; and reliable history has no nearer similitude to it, than melo-

[c] suora cit.

[d] J. Chandler Harris. Azelia.

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dy has to the noise which a man who has no ear for music makes, when he tries to tune the bagpipes. From beginning to end, as one can see in the quotations I have given, it is a series of irrelevant assertions diversified by mistranslation and fable; and in this alone is it consistent, that it scarcely ever deviates into solid argument or is vested with accuracy in narration of facts. It is not magnificent (e) and it is not war; for it is reckless without the charm of brilliancy that sometimes illuminates inconsiderate action. It has one merit that is rarer than it ought to be in modern print; it is written in really good English; and when I say this, and make the further remark that the Doctor himself is personally a most estimable man who deservedly takes high rank in social standing for many excellent qualities, I say all that can be said in favor of his Essay on the birth place of St. Patrick; but if who should say that he is the very worst historian in the world, his Lecture does not furnish the least evidence to contravene the estimate. I dismiss the subject for ever. (f)

Judique, Oct. 4, 1910.

[e] "C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la guerre." Remarks of a French officer in view of the charge of the light brigade at Balaclava.

(f) "I have endeavored to illustrate in detail the ancient records in connection with the birthplace of our Apostle. They all lead to the valley of the Clyde; and I have no hesitation in accepting the tradition of the Scottish Church which from time immemorial has marked out old Kilpatrick as the hallowed spot in which St. Patrick was born." Cardinal Moran in Dublin Review, *supra cit.*